

Industrial
Democracy

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor

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American Appeal

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

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U. S. Paves Way to Arm Foes of Mexican Labor Government

Preparations Made to Mobilize 100,000 Troops and Vast Supplies on Border

As the American Appeal goes to press events of the most sinister import connected with the Mexican situation are transpiring.

1.—The Coolidge-Kellogg administration in Washington has terminated what is known as the smuggling convention with Mexico. This agreement, among other things, prohibits the shipment of arms to Mexican revolutionaries without the knowledge of the United States government. This action removes the last obstacle from the lifting of the presidential embargo on the shipment of arms into Mexico.

2.—The Mexican anti-labor revolutionaries, whose main headquarters are in El Paso, Texas, are making full preparations to unite all their forces to upset the labor government in Mexico beginning with this virtual lifting of the arms embargo on March 28.

Ominous War Moves

3.—The War Department before the adjournment of Congress had prepared for the mobilization of 100,000 troops, representing all branches of the service on the Mexican border.

Vast quantities of materials and supplies are being purchased and transported to the border depots, according to talk freely expressed in Washington.

4.—Orders have been issued for the mobilization on the border of every air craft in the country and it is predicted that the order will be given effect before the first of May.

The War Department confronted with these statements has admitted that there is to be a concentration along the Mexican border, but says that this is a "military maneuver without special significance."

An Invitation to Revolt

Speaking of the sudden termination of the smuggling convention with Mexico, Senator Norris, progressive, said:

"That's an outright invitation to revolution. It is significant that no substantial reasons are given in this statement."

"It means that we are going to permit the shipment of arms and ammunition without restriction into Mexico. It is notice to all who want to overthrow the government of Mexico that the United States will put nothing in their way."

Most ominous of all is the attitude of the organs of capitalism and imperialism in America on the ending of the smuggling convention. THEY ACCEPT IT AS THE BEGINNING OF THE OVERTHROW OF MEX-

(Continued on page 3)

Morgan's Partner May Succeed Kellogg

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—Dwight Morrow, partner in Morgan & Co. and college roommate of Coolidge, may succeed Frank Kellogg as secretary of state within a few weeks.

Morrow and Charles Evans Hughes have been staying at the leading hotel in Washington, midway between the temporary white house and the presidential office.

Morrow, for the first time since Henry P. Davidson discovered him on a commuters train in prewar days and took him into Morgan & Co., has begun to court political limelight. His confidential talks with Coolidge are more frequent now than his hat. In spite of solemn assurance to the contrary, coming from Coolidge himself, Kellogg is to be dropped. He knows that he is not wanted. His friends are now confidentially urging press correspondents to "play off" attacks on him, so that he may retire gracefully, and not under fire.

Prevent This Horror!

Colonel D. P. Bloch, of the French army, paints a picture of the "next war" calculated to give one the horrors. Yet he is writing in the coldest technical terms, and much of what he sees for future conflicts would have been witnessed in the last one had it lasted a few months longer.

The first attack will be delivered by airplane hundreds of miles behind the frontier. Next, there will be no non-combatants; every one will be swept into the war machine, and every one will be in danger.

If the World War had lasted till the spring of 1915, the German trenches would have been drenched with "lewisite," a deadlier gas than any yet used, and one defying all then known forms of protection.

Kellogg Confesses U. S. Armed Diaz in Nicaragua War

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24.—The American government has backed up its recognition of the Diaz regime in Nicaragua by selling it arms and ammunition.

The sale was made nearly a month ago at the very time that President Coolidge's Nicaragua policy was drawing heated fire from Chairman Borah of the senate foreign relations committee and other members of congress.

Announcement of the transaction was made officially by the state department last night. It said the war department had sold the Diaz government 3,000 Krag rifles, 200 Browning machine guns and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition. The price was \$217,718, to be paid by a series of notes, the first of which will be due Jan. 31, 1929.

The munitions already have been shipped to Managua, the Nicaraguan capital.

"They were represented by the Nicaraguan government," the state department said, "as being urgently needed to maintain law and order in the country and suppress revolutionary activities which not only threaten the constitutional government of Nicaragua but also the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners."

In singular contrast to this admission is the official statement issued by Secretary Kellogg on March 14. On that date, 20 days after the sale of these munitions, Washington newspaper dispatches quoted Kellogg as flatly denying favoring the election of Diaz. It stands out in amazing contrast also to the charges made so much of by Coolidge that the Mexican government was selling arms to Sacaca, Liberal president of Nicaragua, made only a week or two before the sale.

Officials of the Nicaraguan legation in Washington say that the arms and munitions obtained from the United States Diaz will be able to crush Sacaca.

Our Trusts Behind Cuban Labor Terror

American financial exploitation is responsible for the terrible crimes committed against labor, including assassination of labor leaders and most brutal and outrageous suppression of trade unions under the bloody regime of President Machado.

The charge is made by Chester M. Wright, English secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, whose sensational expose of the situation facing Cuban workers, made in a number of newspaper articles, has attracted wide attention.

The biggest investors in Cuban industry, in the order of their importance, are the American Sugar Refining Co., the General Electric Co., and the American Tobacco Co.

These corporations, according to Mr. Wright, are tied in with the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, and the Guaranty Trust Co., and President Machado of Cuba is regarded as the handy-man of these institutions.

Two years ago President Machado issued an edict limiting the acreage which could be planted to sugar, and Mr. Wright says this ruling was inspired by the American Sugar Co. Its object, of course, was to limit production and keep up prices in the United States.

No real Socialist will refuse to get that sub or pay for one in the big emergency drive ending April 19.

A Plain Talk to the Readers of the American Appeal

To the Readers of the American Appeal:
After fifteen months of growth the American Appeal has attained a circulation of almost 20,000.

The present circulation is too small, the present rate of growth too slow to meet the tremendous emergencies that are arising in the war situation; the super trust situation; the political situation and the international labor situation.

WE MUST HAVE VERY SOON AN ORGAN OF NATIONAL CIRCULATION AND POWER THAT WILL COMMAND ATTENTION, STRIKE THE ENEMY WITH FEAR, RESTRAIN HIS SINISTER INTENTIONS, DRIVE HIM TO COVER, when it attacks these great major issues.

The American Appeal staff has planned a series of powerful drives in a great circulation campaign, which will soon mean vastly bigger and better things for the Appeal and the Movement in the near future, IF YOU WILL LEND YOUR ASSISTANCE.

The first move in the campaign for a greater circulation and a greater paper is a month's drive ending APRIL 19 IN WHICH EVERY READER OF THE APPEAL IS EXPECTED TO OBTAIN OR PAY FOR AT LEAST ONE SUB.

IN CONNECTION WITH THIS DRIVE WE ARE OFFERING FOR THE LAST TIME FOR \$5 WORTH OF SUBS OR MORE THE LAST PHOTO DEBS HAD TAKEN OF HIMSELF, AS A MARK OF HONOR FOR SERVICE TO THE CAUSE.

The success of the present drive will in every way constitute the foundation for the future drives in the big circulation campaign. It will constitute a real test of our dependable workers.

If, when we check up results we find them encouraging, we will go on to bigger things. If the response is impressive, the success of the Appeal and the Movement will be rapid in the near future.

IT IS UP TO YOU, INDIVIDUAL READER OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL YOU CAN VERY LARGELY MAKE OR UNMAKE THE MOVEMENT BY YOUR WILLINGNESS OF UNWILLINGNESS TO PERFORM THE VERY SMALL SERVICE OF GETTING SOME ONE TO SUBSCRIBE OR OF UNDERTAKING THE VERY SMALL EXPENSE OF PAYING TO PUT SOME ONE ON.

This is a showdown with all who claim to be Socialists. Is your Socialism worth a dollar or fifty cents in service or cash, when that service or cash will unquestionably open a new chapter of progress for your paper and your Movement?

Your answer will unquestionably determine whether or not the circulation campaign planned for the Appeal beginning May 1, can or cannot be carried out.

If you are for a strong forward advance, a powerful paper, a growing movement, use the new subscription blank at the top of page 2 immediately and thousands of others will follow your example before this drive closes.

Break Radio Trust With Debs Station, Morss Lovett Urges

NEW YORK—In accepting an invitation to become a trustee for the \$250,000 fund being raised to establish the radio station WDEBS in honor of Eugene V. Debs, Robert Morss Lovett, of Chicago, who is known liberal leader, and president of the League for International Democracy, made the following statement:

"I am very glad to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. It seems to me that no better memorial can be provided for one who fought all his life for freedom of speech than an enterprise which will make speech effective as a means of enlightenment throughout the length and breadth of the land. The control of broadcasting by vested interests is an outstanding menace to free institutions. We have already learned what tyranny a reactionary company can exercise. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company allowed William J. Burns in broadcasting from its station to denounce by name workers for the common good and believers in freedom of speech. The Civil Liberties Union requested permission for Mr. Norman Hapgood to broadcast in reply to Mr. Burns. Although Mr. Hapgood submitted his proposed speech, which consisted entirely of quotations from Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, the A. T. and T. refused to allow him to speak on the ground that his subject was controversial. Anything that we can do in the name of Eugene V. Debs to break this tyrannical monopoly will be an honor to his memory."

Trustees in Session
The first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund is now in session in New York City. The board is composed of leading liberals, labor leaders and Socialists in all parts of the country. At its first meeting it is hearing reports of the excellent progress made thus far. Plans are being formulated for putting the campaign for \$250,000 over the top before many months have elapsed. Interest in the drive is being shown in all sections of the labor movement, among Socialists as well as non-Socialists. Individual contributions are pouring in, all accompanied by some expression of support of the proposal to erect Station WDEBS in short order.

Browning, the inventor of the machine gun of the same name, was buried with military honors.

So were most of his customers.—Illinois Miner.

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Power of Unity

There is increasing evidence day by day that the workers of all trades and occupations are beginning to realize at last the essential unity of the working class and are getting in closer and closer touch with each other for emancipation.

Only the effective unity of the working class can emancipate the working class and when this simple fact is clearly understood, as it will be in the near future, there will be a mustering of the sturdy sons of toil as has never been before known.

The weakness and the sole weakness of the labor movement, but economic and political, is its lack of cohesiveness, solidarity, and this is due in the main to the still benighted condition of many of the workers who fall easy victims to the wiles and connivances of the scheming emissaries of the master class, whose business is to see to it that the wage-slaves are kept divided and at war with each other as the sure means of keeping them in helpless subjection.

It is not only the wily politician who deceives and misleads the trusting workers but not infrequently the very fellow who poses as a union man, wears the largest badge and is most blatant in his profession of loyalty to the labor movement. Such creatures infect the unions for the very purpose of sowing the seeds of disruption and where they are tracked to their holes they should be promptly exposed and rendered harmless to further betray the cause. But while it is necessary to keep a sharp lookout for such apes and sneaks it is also well to bear in mind that undue suspicion of one member by another is equally to be avoided and quite as certain to be fatal to efficient unity of the rank and file.

The workers themselves must insist upon getting together, uniting their forces and acting in concert for the good of all. Too much reliance upon leaders is not the part of wisdom or good policy. After all the best of leadership can do little for the workers and plays but a relatively insignificant part in the great struggle of the workers to free themselves from wage-slavery. The solidarity of the workers based upon the intelligence and self-reliance of the workers themselves, is all-important and when this fact is realized the very stars in their course will fight for labor's emancipation.

U. S. Plays Leading Role In Move Against New China

Perfect New Horror For Next World War

PARIS.—Silent airplanes, painted the color of night, which can neither be heard nor seen after dark, soon will be the practical accomplishment of the French aviation service. It was reliably stated. Recent experiments with new silencers demonstrated the airplane could not be heard a distance of 300 feet from the ground.

Hands Off China, Is Labor Cry In British Dominions

SYDNEY, Australia.—Labor and Socialist organizations, political and industrial have announced a Hands Off China policy.

At scores of meetings motions are being carried calling upon the workers to refuse to join any expeditionary force for China and to refuse to handle munitions or foodstuffs for troops in China.

At a huge meeting in Sydney, held at the town hall and presided over by the Labor lord mayor, a resolution was adopted calling upon the British government to withdraw all armed forces from China and cease interfering with the Chinese people.

The Seamen's Union of Australia decided that the seamen will refuse to man the boats should any attempt be made to send troops, munitions or foodstuffs to the British soldiers in China. The railwaymen's union adopted a similar decision.

The Australian workers' union, the largest industrial organization in Australia, carried a resolution demanding that the government should not embroil Australia in imperialist warfare.

New Zealand

WELLINGTON.—The New Zealand Labor party and the labor organizations have taken up a Hands Off China attitude. The Labor party has called to the British Labor party that it will support action to prevent armed intervention by the British government in China. Similar cables have been sent to the Labor parties in Australia and Canada.

Canada

MONTREAL.—Immediate withdrawal of British forces from China was unanimously demanded by a mass meeting in Montreal that exceeded in numbers all labor assemblies except on Labor day. The Canadian government was asked to forbid transport of munitions across the country for use by Great Britain against the Cantonese nationalists.

Rose Henderson said the British ruling class of 250,000 persons had made \$27,000,000,000 out of the world war and wanted another killing now. J. S. Woodworth, leader of the Labor party in the dominion parliament, said capitalist imperialism in its desire to exploit Chinese men, women and children was maneuvering the British government into a war position and that the workers throughout the empire would have to prevent the war.

Canadian Labor In Move for Its Own Unions And Party

MONTREAL, Canada.—The movement toward a national organization of Canadian labor independent of the American Federation of Labor has taken formal shape in a convention here in the formation of the All Canadian Labor Congress composed of 12 independent national unions. President A. R. Mosher, of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, is presently touring the country as a membership of 100,000, none of whom are now in the American Federation of Labor.

Among the affiliated organizations are the Canadian Federation of Labor, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, Electrical Communication Workers of Canada, One Big Union, Mine Workers Union of Canada, Bricklayers & Masons Federation of Quebec, Independent Street Railwaymen's Union of Toronto, Canadian Assn. of Railroad Engineers, and the Electrical Trades Union of Canada.

The movement in Canada to form an independent labor party like the British Labor Party is progressing encouragingly. The success of the independent trade union movement of Canada will further the growing labor party tendency as the unions in Canada affiliated with the American Federation of Labor oppose a labor party and insist on the A. F. of L. nonpartisan policy.

Commissioner Admits Private Rail Failure

WASHINGTON.—In an address to the Political Study Club, Commissioner Thomas F. Woodcock of the Interstate Commerce Commission expressed doubt whether the railroads can longer be conducted "with the best results" under private ownership. The speaker intimated that the time is not far distant when the railroads will have to look to the government for credit.

Killing of Eight Whites in Nanking Raises Menace of Imperialism

The great movement in China toward democracy and Socialism founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, flowering in the Kuomintang and the Chinese revolution, now embracing in its conquered areas fully 60 per cent of the population of China, is seriously menaced by movements of the imperialist powers, following the killing of eight foreigners, including one American, these British, two French and two Japanese nationals, and the slaughter of many Chinese (some estimates being as high as 2,000 men, women and children) by American and British gunboat crews, while fighting was going on following the entrance of Nanking by Cantonese troops.

Although the Cantonese army leaders, Chiang Kai-shek and Gen. Pai Chung-hsi have expressed extreme regret and officially disavowed Cantonese responsibility for the killing of the foreigners and have stated that the killing were all likelihood the work of irresponsible elements attaching themselves to the Cantonese cause, developments growing out of this affair have already resulted in placing the imperialist powers definitely on the side of the northern Chinese militarists and thus creating a dangerous concentration of foreign battleships and armies.

It is significant that the Japanese who lost two nationals in the Nanking riots do not consider the affair sufficiently important to warrant special action. A Tokyo dispatch of March 24 says:

"The Japanese navy department and foreign office maintain that the situation growing out of the Nanking riots does not warrant any immediate change of policy. They hold that there is no evidence that the nationalists (Cantonese) were responsible for the attack upon the Japanese consulate in Nanking. They attribute the destruction of property there solely to a frenzied mob."

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Armed Christianity In China Protested

CHICAGO.—Missionaries ought to go to China at their own risk. "It's wrong to send warships to enforce Christianity on the Chinese," "Christianity has no more rights than any other religion."

These sentiments, shouted by Chinese college students attending the conference on Pan-Pacific relations at the University of Chicago, threatened for a time to break up the meeting. The Chinese, their anger stirred by a discussion of the present crisis in their native country, leaped on chairs and disregarded the chairman's appeal to make known their opinions. The disturbance was finally quieted by students of other races.

Munition Interests Incite War in China

URBANA, ILL.—China's war lords could not fight without munitions supplied by foreigners and smuggled through the foreign concessions. Tien Lai Huang, leader in the Chinese youth movement and former Chinese army officer, said in an address at the University of Illinois.

"For instance, a retired United States general about a year ago," Mr. Huang stated, "offered me a liberal commission if I would help dispose of in China about \$8,000,000 worth of munitions, mostly stored in the Rhine valley. I refused. Later he informed me that he and his associates had sold most of the munitions to Chinese war lords and they had been smuggled in through the concessions."

God Forgive My World War Hate, Minister Prays

PARIS, March 20.—The Rev. Joseph Wilson Cochran, pastor of the fashionable American church in Paris, publicly expressed regret in his pulpit today for his own verbal excesses during the war.

Speaking of disarmament and urging support for President Coolidge's naval reduction program, the Rev. Mr. Cochran, who served during the war as an American army chaplain, said: "When I recall the exaggerated statements of animosity and hatred which I personally made during the world war I get down on my knees and pray for forgiveness."

His hearers gasped. The pastor, who is 50 years old, went on: "I fought that problem out, testing my words by the standard of Jesus and I must admit that my attitude was anti-Christian and unworthy of the master. I hope I will be pardoned. I hope we all will be pardoned for the uncharitable words of hatred we uttered when we should have heeded the Christian precepts to love our enemy."

NEWS AND VIEWS

Germany Raises Real Disarmament Issue

Germany has confronted the League of Nations with a proposal calculated to thoroughly test that body as a peace force. Stresemann, former German premier, who presides at the League session, has asked that the League either bring about disarmament among the member nations, or permit Germany to arm to the extent of the member nations.

Stresemann's arguments possess a force calculated to embarrass the League. He called attention to the fact that the original purpose of the League of Nations as stated in its articles is to bring about world peace through disarmament. All members of the League of Nations are equal under its provisions and its disarmament proposal applies equally to all. Germany is now a member of the League and has a right to demand equal treatment in the matter of armament or disarmament.

What will the League of Nations do? Will it purpose and cause a general disarmament equal to that now imposed by the League on Germany, or will it violate its fundamental purpose and keep Germany disarmed while it permits the member nations to remain armed? On the other hand, will the League seek to escape from this dilemma by permitting Germany to arm, thus again destroying the principle on which it is based?

This issue, raised by Germany, unless it is settled right, will place a powerful weapon in the hands of the world's peace forces that no doubt will be used in the future with powerful effect.

In the meantime, America's aloofness and recent rejection of the League plan of disarmament creates work for the peace forces in America. It is our duty to see that America's foolish isolation and nationalism does not defeat a real movement toward disarmament.

Radicalism and Young China

(Editorial, Chicago Tribune, March 27, 1927)

There has grown up at Canton a radical regime, at first under the influence of the late Sun Yat-sen, who had developed into a radical doctrinaire, and later under bolshevik

diplomacy. In this evolution we find student groups conspicuous, and it is significant to note that socialist economic and social doctrines are introduced not merely under Russian influence but from European and even American universities. Missionary sympathy for these ideas has appeared also. The usual talk against capitalism is general not only in China but among Chinese students who are supposed to be getting knowledge of occidental societies in this country and Europe. If we are to judge from much of the student theorizing among the young Chinese, the American example of private liberty and initiative is one to be avoided, not imitated.

We are less interested in the bearing this may have upon developments in China than upon its explanation. How is it that the youth who are going back to China are taking ideas which imply the failure of democracy in this country rather than a determination to establish American conditions in their own country? What are our universities teaching their students? How is it that among the missionaries and Y. M. C. A. workers in China, supported as they are by our sinistral capitalists out of the evil profits of capitalism, we find so much sympathy for at least a half-baked socialism? Are our political and economic professors convinced that the American system of individualism and republican government is a dismal failure and that young China ought to strike out for the socialist utopia by the shortest route? How many of our missionaries and Y. M. C. A. workers are sentimental socialists? It might pay to find out.

We think the American scheme, being a fabric of fallible humanity, has its faults, but we do not see that it deserves the scorn which the Chinese student of today seems to have for it. It has given a well being to the common man which no socialist experiment, past or present, has bred, and among the Chinese, the friends of China we do not think the future is going to list either to admit diplomats from Moscow who are just now having their day in the nationalist movement nor yet the sentimental socialists of our own breed who are giving a sort of half-faced encouragement to inexperienced and misguided youth in China.

If young China is studying in American schools the sources and history of American institutions, with American teachers who are fit to teach the lessons of American life, where is it getting its new hostility to America and its liking for socialism?

A Victory for Clean Government

(Editorial, Labor, Washington, D. C. March 26, 1927)

Harry F. Sinclair, oil baron of Teapot Dome, has been convicted of contempt of the Senate for refusing to answer questions put to him by an investigating committee. He is liable to a jail sentence.

The verdict is one which should receive emphatic approval from the tire nation. It is notice to all that men who have supposedly corrupt dealings with public officials cannot take refuge behind a barrier of silence, except when in court on criminal charges.

Sinclair, it will be remembered, contributed \$25,000 to former Secretary of the Interior Fall, and secured from Fall a lease on the Teapot Dome naval oil reserve estimated to be worth \$25,000,000. He also participated in the formation of a mysterious Canadian corporation which seemed to have a fund to "influence" public officials and others.

The verdict strengthens the hands of Congressional investigating committees, and that, in the judgment of LABOR, is an enormous gain. It is the fashion, in many quarters, to sneer at Congressional investigations. Actually, they are the most valuable agencies of our government, as the briefest review of recent history will show.

But for the investigations of Congressional committees, Harry Daugherty would still be Attorney General of the United States; Doherty would still be in possession of Elk Hills, which the Supreme Court says he secured by corruption and conspiracy; Sinclair would still be holding Teapot Dome; the "Mad Mullah," Judge English, would still disgrace the Federal bench. It is doubtful whether even such a grifter as Charles Forbes would have been laid by the heels without the exposures made in Congress.

Not for six years has the executive branch of the Federal government discovered and punished malfeasance, tyranny or corruption. That task invariably has been left to Congress.

The conviction of Sinclair is a victory for publicity in public affairs. It endangers no honest citizen. It leaves every individual right and privilege secure. But it does enable a Congressional investigating committee to learn how public business has been handled, and that is an unmitigated gain for clean government.

Tories Drop Worst Labor Bills Fearing Rising Labor Vote

LONDON—Labor's great victories at the polls in every bye-election since the general strike, especially in the recent election at Stourbridge, when Labor won over the Tories by 3,099 votes, is having a sobering effect on the Tories in their present effort to put through strong anti-labor legislation.

Labor is not alone in the attack on the proposed anti-labor bills. The political risk of pushing labor too hard with such legislation is felt to be so great that Lloyd George and other Liberals and some Conservative speakers opposed the legislation.

The real effect of the diarch Tory attempt to hamstring the practically disfranchised labor was pointed out by J. H. Thomas, Labor member of Parliament, who said that the infamous Taft Vail decision in 1912 had quickly raised the Labor representation in parliament from 11 to 52 and that the anti-labor Osborn Judgement in 1909 had suddenly increased it to 122.

Facing such political consequences, the Tories have given up their attempt to abolish political assessments by labor. Their confusion and retreat was further demonstrated when the Tory bill to punish workers on strike for receiving money from the political and economic struggle of the proletariat are not sufficient to cope with the enormous strength at the disposal of finance capital in the economic and political phases.

"Political mass strikes must therefore be resorted to in the battle for the new social order. These strikes, to be successful, must be carried out spontaneously. They cannot be conducted by the trade union bureaucracy, who, despite their eminently valuable services in other lines, are not in a position to take the initiative and are inclined to oppose them. The socialist form of organization is, on the other hand, well fitted for such a task, and in the performance of this function, promises to acquire an outstanding significance in the great decisive struggles between capital and labor which are before us."

Old Age Pensions for Pennsylvania Soon, Maurer Says

PHILADELPHIA—The "old age pensions" movement is winning. The poor houses must go, said James H. Maurer, triumphantly at a Philadelphia mass meeting called by the American Association for Old Age Security.

Maurer, who is president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and chairman of the old age pensions commission appointed by the governor of Pennsylvania was predicting speedy passage of the amendment to the State constitution that will permit an old age pensions law for aged workers.

The amendment has passed the state senate and is waiting action in the House.

Maurer riddled the state supreme court judges who killed the pensions law two years ago. He pointed out that these judges were willing enough to let another man stand, giving themselves comfortable pensions, while denying the laborer on the industrial scrap heap his dollar a day.

The four transportation brotherhoods of Pennsylvania joined hands with the A. F. of L. at the meeting in support of the measure. A resolution presented by the engineers, firemen, conductors and trainmen urging immediate approval of the amendment, was unanimously voted.

The pensions amendment must go before the people after it passes the legislature. It has the opposition of big money interests, the National Civic Federation, and the Philadelphia Republican machine has fallen in line with the popular proposal and the clergy are backing it.

Speaking with Maurer were city treasurer Mackay, Bishop Talbot of Episcopal City, Bishop McDonnell of the Methodist Church, and a Catholic layman, unable to speak, sent his O. K.

knowledge. So thoroughly did the Minnesota students arouse public opinion on this issue that the bill received only 9 votes in the House, thus putting Rev. Riley in humiliating flight in his own home state. Practically all the anti-revolution bills have been defeated so far this year.

Milwaukee Socialists Plan Municipal Phones

MILWAUKEE—The Socialist party of Milwaukee will make a supreme effort to establish a municipal telephone system next year. All the plans have been drawn up for the installation of this system and many other things that the Socialists want.

It is probable that funds to place at least the first unit in operation will be set up in the 1928 budget.

The telephone bill of the Milwaukee city government is more than \$100,000 a year. Its own system would start with an enormous saving. With the principle of service to the people at cost, the system would save the consumers millions.

The first attempt to install a municipal system was made during Mr. Seidel's second year as mayor, cooperation with Mr. Kleinschreiber, who has been superintendent of the police and fire alarm system for 30 years.

Mr. Kleinschreiber purchased a switchboard for the initial unit of the system, which was installed in room adjoining the fire and police alarm system headquarters on the sixth floor of the city hall.

Before the system could be given a fair trial, however, Gerhard Bading was elected mayor on the first nonpartisan ticket. He and other capitalists opposed to the plan, probably because of the Wisconsin Telephone Co.'s opposition, and it was ordered abandoned. On the grounds that the room was needed by the health department, the switchboard, which had cost the city nearly \$3,000, was dismantled. It was later sold for \$900.

The extensive public ownership plans of the Milwaukee Socialists have been systematically blocked since Seidel's administration by the majority of old party administration for the big corporations.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

The Case for and Against Soviets Article V

In the former articles in this series, the communists' attitude toward violence, toward dictatorship and democracy has been considered, and the socialist criticism of this attitude. Communists urge that the political structure best adapted to the dictatorship is the Soviet.

Is this a form of government which Socialists should strive to attain?

Soviets, declares Karl Kautsky, the German Marxist, are excellent institutions in their place, but their place is among organizations of class conflict rather than among institutions of government. "Everywhere it is apparent that the usual methods of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat are not sufficient to cope with the enormous strength at the disposal of finance capital in the economic and political phases."

"Political mass strikes must therefore be resorted to in the battle for the new social order. These strikes, to be successful, must be carried out spontaneously. They cannot be conducted by the trade union bureaucracy, who, despite their eminently valuable services in other lines, are not in a position to take the initiative and are inclined to oppose them. The socialist form of organization is, on the other hand, well fitted for such a task, and in the performance of this function, promises to acquire an outstanding significance in the great decisive struggles between capital and labor which are before us."

However, and economic struggle mechanism the soviet exclude from suffrage a portion of the population and make it difficult for a critic to express himself. The opposition which the laws may arouse is not, therefore, learned in the first instance, but only after an attempt is made to put them into operation.

Indirect Presentation

"The soviet, furthermore, gives to the people only an indirect representation, while the central authority retains but few contacts with the mass of the people."

"Nor is the disastrous effect of soviet representation on the local bodies overlooked. Municipal bodies, endowed as they are with the power of electing delegates to the next higher bodies, are likely to be twisted from their proper functions and become the playthings of partisan organizations, while their members will be chosen more for the vote they are to give for the higher soviet than for the main work they are to do. It is thus not only essential that the Socialist Parliament should be directly responsible to the Socialist organizations, but that the Socialist administrative bodies should be elected for their own work."

Parliamentary Forms Condemned

A criticism of the soviet, however, does not blind the Socialists to the defects of the parliamentary form of government in bourgeois countries. The system of checks and balances in parliamentary countries, writes Hillquit, is designed "to check the will and power of the masses" and "to throw the political balance in favor of the classes in power." By the operation of that system, the lower house of parliament is often reduced to impotence. The upper house, given coordinate legislative power with the popular chamber, is generally composed of a more conservative group. If a radical measure chances to pass the two houses, the executive frequently has the right to veto it, and if it is finally signed, it may be set aside by the courts as unconstitutional. Even more paralyzing is the parliamentary separation of legislative and executive functions. Thus it is "quite obvious that the revolutionary working class, in the words of Marx, 'cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery, which the laws may arouse is not, therefore, learned in the first instance, but only after an attempt is made to put them into operation.'"

Finced \$61,971 for Trying to Unionize

BOSTON—Local No. 380, Milk Drivers and Creamery Workers' Union, must pay \$61,971.44 because it attempted last summer by striking to force three milk companies to employ only union members. This amount of damages was awarded today by Judge Morton of Superior Court.

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U. S. To Arm Mexico's Foes

(Continued from Page 1)

ICO'S LABOR GOVERNMENT BY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES SUPPLIED WITH ARMS AND MENTIONS WITH MONEY FROM THIS SIDE OF THE BORDER.

Chicago Tribune correspondent writes from El Paso, Texas, the American-promoted Mexican revolution, that the counter-revolutionary reactionaries "are confident that it will be easy to start a revolution now."

Army Men Hopeful of Trouble

"Joining in this opinion," he says, "are high officials of the various American services along the frontier: The immigration service, the border patrol and the regular army. I have just visited all those services and I found the viewpoint unanimous."

"If it will break loose the moment the arms embargo is lifted—you may expect a revolution to break out as soon as the money and the rifles get across the Rio Grande."

"But the main thing, say these experts, who have lived with the situation for years, is money, not arms. 'All officials with whom I have talked believe that the money is coming either from American sources, who desire another revolution or from Mexican leaders living in El Paso, San Antonio and New York. They say it will gain enough disaffected Mexicans in the interior to carry on a revolution. Moreover, they believe that unless the Mexican administration has enough funds, which they say it has not, it will be difficult to keep the present Mexican army loyal.'"

Our Bold War-Makers

The brutal boldness of the American war-makers has just been revealed in connection with the story given out on March 22 in Washington that extremely provocative war-making notes between Washington and Mexico had been proved to be forgeries by deliberate trouble-makers. At least Secretary Kellogg has denied that recent notes calculated to plunge the two nations into war and bearing all the marks of having come from the United States Department of State were ever issued by him.

IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR AMERICAN WAR-MAKERS NOT DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO BLIP FORGED DOCUMENTS born?

Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

The Case for and Against Soviets Article V

In the former articles in this series, the communists' attitude toward violence, toward dictatorship and democracy has been considered, and the socialist criticism of this attitude. Communists urge that the political structure best adapted to the dictatorship is the Soviet.

Is this a form of government which Socialists should strive to attain?

Soviets, declares Karl Kautsky, the German Marxist, are excellent institutions in their place, but their place is among organizations of class conflict rather than among institutions of government. "Everywhere it is apparent that the usual methods of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat are not sufficient to cope with the enormous strength at the disposal of finance capital in the economic and political phases."

"Political mass strikes must therefore be resorted to in the battle for the new social order. These strikes, to be successful, must be carried out spontaneously. They cannot be conducted by the trade union bureaucracy, who, despite their eminently valuable services in other lines, are not in a position to take the initiative and are inclined to oppose them. The socialist form of organization is, on the other hand, well fitted for such a task, and in the performance of this function, promises to acquire an outstanding significance in the great decisive struggles between capital and labor which are before us."

However, and economic struggle mechanism the soviet exclude from suffrage a portion of the population and make it difficult for a critic to express himself. The opposition which the laws may arouse is not, therefore, learned in the first instance, but only after an attempt is made to put them into operation.

Indirect Presentation

"The soviet, furthermore, gives to the people only an indirect representation, while the central authority retains but few contacts with the mass of the people."

"Nor is the disastrous effect of soviet representation on the local bodies overlooked. Municipal bodies, endowed as they are with the power of electing delegates to the next higher bodies, are likely to be twisted from their proper functions and become the playthings of partisan organizations, while their members will be chosen more for the vote they are to give for the higher soviet than for the main work they are to do. It is thus not only essential that the Socialist Parliament should be directly responsible to the Socialist organizations, but that the Socialist administrative bodies should be elected for their own work."

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U. S. In Move Against China

(Continued from Page 1)

Line Up Against Cantonese

"The immediate result of the Nanking tragedy," says a Peking news dispatch, "was an order from the American legation for the withdrawal of all Americans within the nationalist occupied territory. The order includes the consular districts of Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, Amoy, Swatow, Foochow, Nanking, Changsha and Chungking. To enforce this effect were dispatched to the consuls. Outbreak of anti-foreignism in all parts of China are feared, as Chinese versions of the Nanking affair spread through the nation."

"This action, which the other nations are expected to follow, throws the powers directly on the side of the Peking government, whose shattered forces are fast falling back upon Hsichow, near the Shantung border."

Directly growing out of this situation are a series of troop concentrations in which the United States figures conspicuously. With 21 war craft in China, and 200,000 additional nine have been ordered there immediately. With 3,250 marines and soldiers in China an additional 1,500 are being rushed to the troubled area.

The action of the Washington administration in taking a leading role in the Peking government, in close cooperation with Great Britain in a situation that required a careful examination of facts and great deliberation, has already raised expressions of astonishment, regret and protest from Chinese in the United States and China. They are asking, "Is America merely playing a British role in China, after having established a reputation for fairness and peaceful dealings?"

Sinister Development

The regrettable Nanking affair is the first incident since the revolution began involving Cantonese elements in the murder of foreigners. On the other hand, there have been for about a year a series of affairs in which foreigners were slain by soldiers of northern armies. An outstanding instance was the one on the upper Yangtze river when a Canadian general seized British boats for transporting his troops, which led to the shooting of several British soldiers and the massacre by the British of 5,000 men, women and children. It is significant that the killings of foreigners by Chinese forces has never endangered the relation of foreign powers with the Peking government, while the first unfortunate killing of whites by soldiers said to be attached to the Cantonese cause actions within a week definitely placed the imperialist powers on the side of the North.

Is there an imperialist plot to strangle Young China before it is too late?

purposes. A Socialist state must, therefore, develop suitable administrative organs to take care equally of the administrative and political interests of the people. Representation must be occupational as well as geographic. There is complete agreement among all Socialist authorities that the preponderantly political character of modern parliament cannot be carried over into a socialist state.

"Furthermore, a Socialist regime, representing a majority of the people will have a clear interest in placing the vital executive functions of the government in the control of the people, through their direct representation."

"Thus if a Socialist regime is to retain the institution of parliament at all, it would modify its forms and methods in at least these salient features: it would introduce occupational representation, abolish the 'Upper House' and the system of indirect practical work of administration in direct control of parliament and make its members actively participate in such work. It would turn all state organs into responsible agencies of the working class government, and provide for a system of recalling representatives at all times."

However, it by no means follows, continues Hillquit, that it must scrap the parliamentary form of government and substitute the soviet form, the salient feature of which is indirect and elaborate system of voting which operates to give to the industrial class minority political preponderance over the peasant majority. "That may seem necessary in a country such as Russia where the industrial worker is in a hopeless minority as compared with the peasant, but is not necessary in the more industrial developed western countries."

Ramsay MacDonald On Parliamentary System

Ramsay MacDonald urges, as a means of remedying the faults of the present parliamentary system, that lower house representative of consumers be supplemented by another chamber representative of producers. "Let us," he declares, "have a second chamber on a soviet franchise. The same people might vote for both chambers, but the two would be so different that they would be different electorates. Guilds or unions, professions and trades, classes and sections, could elect to the second chamber their representatives. . . . It would enjoy the power of free and authoritative debate. It would initiate legislation, and it could amend the bills for the other chamber; it could conduct its own inquiries, and be represented on government and parliamentary commissions and committees. If in such a body labor were adequately represented, and there were a strong labor party in the other body, the real needs and concerns of the nation would not be overlooked, but would be felt by the two houses with a directness which we have not known hitherto in our political life."

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Russell on Self-Government

Bertrand Russell, critic of Bolshevik methods insists that, if the workers would avoid the evils of violence on the one hand, and of parliamentarism on the other, they should strive to obtain a greater amount of self-government in industry. For "self government can be brought about gradually, by stages in one trade, and by extension from one trade to another. By this means the capitalists are turned into obvious drones, their active functions in industry become nil, and they can be ultimately dispossessed without dislocation and without the possibility of any successful struggle on their part. Another advantage of proceeding by way of self-government is that it tends to prevent the Communist regime, when it comes, from having that truly terrible degree of centralization which now exists in Russia."

Next week this series will close with the concluding chapter and a summary of the points brought out.

Enormous Profits of A "Dissolved" Trust

Last week the American Appeal told how well a recently "dissolved" trust, the Bread Trust, was doing at its old place of business.

The Standard Oil Trust was "dissolved" by United States court decree in 1911. It has been doing an increasing business ever since that staggers the imagination and threatens to gobble up the whole country.

Standard Oil brokers report that companies composing the old Standard Oil group paid cash dividends for 1926 totaling \$300,919,504.

The 1926 dividends exceed by about \$47,000,000 or 30 percent the dividends paid in 1925 which at that time were a record. They are more than 3 times the dividends paid in 1914.

Standard Oil cash dividends for the first quarter of 1927 were \$55,333,054, compared with \$40,580,317 the first quarter of 1926. These figures exceed the extraordinary 1926 record in generosity to the wealth owners.

The steadily increasing flow of cash dividends to Standard Oil owners, as compiled by Pforzheimer, is shown in the following table:

Public Ownership Under Labor Rule Is Success

SYDNEY, Australia—State-owned and controlled business enterprises in New South Wales earned big profits for the year ended June 30, 1926. The state brickworks turned out a record output and a net profit of \$1,390,000 for the year, after \$45,965 had been distributed to the employees over and above their wages, in accordance with the Labor government's policy of profit sharing. This profit was made despite the fact that the state works sold the bricks at 85 per 1,000 below the private enterprises.

So phenomenal is the trade of this state enterprise that \$130,000 was spent last year in expansion and a further \$250,000 this year. The works will soon be the largest in Australia. They are financed out of their own profits.

The state-owned quarries, providing material for road and concrete making, made a net profit of \$31,225 after distributing \$32,240 among the employees above the regular wages. Additions are necessary for increased trade.

The state-owned reinforced concrete works showed a profit of \$170,000 for the year. They also work on their own profits, having paid back all capital advanced by the government. Bonus payments to the employees totaled \$31,115. These works are also being greatly extended. The product is sold far below privately owned works.

The state-owned building and construction works showed a profit of \$88,400 for the year, after distributing \$17,560 among the workers. This enterprise has accumulated profits of \$402,520, special reserves of \$110,965 and reserves against depreciation of \$97,345.

On the state-owned dockyard a

Standard Oil	Cash dividends
1912	\$ 51,644,634
1913	107,795,381
1914	22,692,841
1915	28,401,204
1916	98,627,875
1917	99,957,923
1918	103,440,916
1919	105,901,477
1920	115,774,793
1921	115,694,292
1922	129,019,865
1923	138,423,295
1924	150,384,555
1925	153,504,099
1926	200,919,594

Cash dividends paid by Standard Oil since 1911, the year of trust "dissolution," have totaled \$1,826,967,168. In addition there have been stock dividends to a total of nearly \$1,500,000,000. The owners, primarily such families as the Rockefellers, Pratts and Mellons, have taken about \$3,300,000,000 on a capitalization of \$200,000,000. Their wealth has multiplied at least 11 times over at the expense of workers and consumers.

Soviet Arming of Junkers Enrages Many Communists

BERLIN—The German Communist party and the Moscow government have been notified by some of the German Communist leaders that Soviet Russia cannot expect to be defended against capitalist attack by the German workers after the revelation showing that German Junkers were supplied with shells to kill German Communists.

The Communist Arbeiter Zeitung openly attacked the leaders of the German Communist party and warned the Moscow government that the German Communist majority will no longer take orders.

The cry that Soviet Russia is menaced by foreign imperialism will no longer carry any weight. The Arbeiter Zeitung declared that "Russia is menaced" the so-called workers' government must be defended. "Isn't this racial policy of perpetual armament of the counter-revolution by Moscow against the German proletariat proof enough of the fact that this phrase of workers' state is a miserable, silly and impudent provocation of the proletariat?"

"To defend this so-called labor state, means to defend a policy which on the one hand asks the German workers to start a violent revolution, and on the other hand, organizes the shipment of armaments for the white army."

Communists Attack Debs Radio Fund

An attack on the proposed radio station memorial to Eugene V. Debs has come from the Communist Party through its official organ in New York City. Headquarters of the Debs Fund, when shown the report, declared it would not make the slightest impression on the movement. The steady flow of contributions into the office of the Debs Fund has continued uninterrupted. Numerous letters expressed resentment of the Communist attempt to injure the plan to honor Eugene V. Debs by erecting a "free speech monument" in his name. The office of the Debs Fund is Room 1604, 21 Union Square, New York City. Norman Thomas is chairman, and Morris Hillquit, Treasurer.

Minnesota Students Win Great Victory

MINNEAPOLIS—A notable victory has been won in behalf of the right to teach scientific knowledge in the institutions of higher learning in America through the preliminary efforts of the students of the University of Minnesota and their official papers. More than 5,000 students signed a petition protesting against an anti-evolution law sponsored by Rev. Riley, Baptist, and Fundamentalist leader in the attack on scientific

Chicago Solution of Race Problem

The death rate in Chicago's Negro population of 160,000 is 22.5 per thousand, twice the rate for the entire citizenship, and will continue to be high until public opinion demands the establishment of health agencies in the Negro sections. These facts and opinions are contained in an article by Dr. L. L. Harris Jr., published in the Social Service Review at the University of Chicago. The tuberculosis rate among Negroes is six times that among whites and the pneumonia rate three times as great, Dr. Harris stated.

Should Socialists Support League of Nations?

Editor's Note

One of the problems most earnestly discussed at the last convention of the Socialist Party held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was the American socialist attitude toward the League of Nations. The discussion led to no final action by the Party. The question is an important one and socialists of this country should adopt a definite policy in regard to it. The readers of the American Appeal are this week given an opportunity to hear both sides of this question set forth by two of the best thinkers in the movement.

Dr. Jessie W. Hughan, author of "American Socialism of the Present Day" and of an introduction to "International Government," and candidate last year on the socialist ticket for United States Senator from New York, presents the point of view of the opponents of the League. Morris Hillquit, the brilliant international secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States and its most prominent spokesman, who, in his opinion, the socialists in this country should urge America's participation, despite the inadequacies of the League as at present time. It is hoped that this symposium will lead to further discussion in the columns of the Appeal, and that the readers will be able to present these two conflicting points of view.

—H. W. L.

No

By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D.

When discussion turns on the League of Nations, we Socialists find strange bedfellows. Instead of the liberals and moderate pacifists so often our allies in such demands as free speech and arbitration, we find ourselves here lined up with Mr. Coolidge and the American Legion. What is the reason? Is it jealousy on our part of a world federation founded by non-Socialists; is it vexation that Russia is not invited; is it mere contrariness and bad temper?

No, there are important reasons for our refusal to support the League, and these are entirely independent of the arguments of the G. O. P. and the hundred percenters. The League advocates are quite right in their contention that Article Sixteen carries no danger of our soldiers being forced into European wars against our will; that the Monroe Doctrine, (a doubtful blessing at best), is not in the least impeded by the League Covenant; and that the United States cannot afford any longer to smile in prosperous isolation while the rest of the world goes to the dogs.

Objections to League

Yet we have objections to the present League of Nations that seem to us conclusive; and here they are:

1. The League constitutes an oligarchy of a dangerous type.
2. It has accomplished little or nothing toward the prevention of wars that could not have been achieved quite as well without it.
3. It has made itself the bulwark of a "bigger and better" industrial imperialism.
4. The League Covenant leaves no loop-hole for reform.

Unrepresentative of Peoples

The League of Nations is in every respect a league of governments rather than of peoples. In the first place, the Covenant contains absolutely no provision for either direct or indirect election of representatives, or for their responsibility to the people while in office. The principle of representation according to population is totally ignored; each state being theoretically entitled to the same power in the Assembly and in all its committees. According to this "rotten borough" system, Liberia is equal-

ly powerful with Great Britain and Haiti with France.

Power of Council

Since, however, this comic opera equality of all governments cannot be regarded seriously by the Great Powers, the League Council has reserved to itself the decision on almost all important matters, thus reducing the Assembly to the status of an excellent free-for-all debating society. It is this brilliant and picturesque but largely futile group that so captures the imaginations of visiting Americans at Geneva.

In practically all affairs except the admission of new members, the Council of eleven holds decisive power. The crowning point of the oligarchy, however, is that only six of the eleven are elected by vote of the Assembly; the other five, Great Britain, Italy, France, Japan, and now Germany, hold seats in perpetuity. To cap the climax, unanimity is required in almost every decision, with the result that any one of these permanent members may always veto any measure to which the others may agree.

The League vs. our Constitution

The Constitution of the League has been compared to that of the United States. Imagine ourselves under the League Covenant; and then thank kind fortune for Jefferson and even Hamilton. Here is the picture: a League of Representatives appointed equally by all the state governments, without popular election or control; a Senate to whom almost all decisions are reserved, consisting of eleven members from upwards of fifty states, six of these being elected by the lower house, and five representing permanently those states which in 1787 were the most powerful;—say Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts and New York, with the later addition of Illinois; lastly, the requirement of unanimity in both houses with the consequent power of any state to block action in the House and of the select group always to block action in the Senate. Add one detail of the League Council, that the permanent members have been chosen, not for their intelligence, democracy, or peaceful tendencies,—on which counts Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries would probably best qualify,—but solely for their industrial and military superiority as demonstrated in the years 1914-1918.

Accomplishments of League

It is then a matter for surprise that no important steps in international progress have yet been taken. The League of Nations, which the brilliant men who figure in its debates (usually from the non-Council nations) are forced to confine their effective action largely to such innocuous matters as the standardization of passports or the repatriation of deserters?

Let us look now at the accomplishments of the League, an organization which in 1919 had the world at its feet. Next to the polyglot Assembly, what most appeals to the visitor at Geneva is the excellent secretariat, a clearing-house of international bureaus, where research and well-fare work of many kinds is efficiently carried on. He is inclined to forget, however, that most of these bureaus were not created by the League but merely taken over by it, and that the most important world organizations are all the International Telegraph Union, the Universal Postal Union, and such special associations as the Danube Commission, have owed little if anything to the League of Nations.

It may be noted, furthermore, that all of these activities of the Secretariat are concerned with the routine work of the world, analogous to that of the traffic and fire departments of a city, work which it is everyone's interest to support and the interest of few important groups to interfere with. Can the marvelous traffic squads and fire departments of our great cities blind us to the serious defects of their

municipal governments?

Little Toward Disarmament

The job for which the League of Nations was established was to prevent war and the fear of war among nations, and in this it has lamentably failed in its six years of trial. Article Eight of the Covenant specifically directs the Council to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments and the prevention of the evils of private manufacture of munitions, and requires League members to exchange full and frank information as to armaments and military programs. Not only has the League failed thus far to carry out these specific provisions, but its preparatory commissions have not yet gathered up sufficient courage even to call a general conference to consider them. The Washington Conference, inadequate as it was, received no authorization or assistance from the League of Nations.

Arbitration Clauses Ineffective

Articles 11-15 of the Covenant provide for universal arbitration and mediation by League members. Article 16-17 for the immediate financial, economic and personal boycott of states refusing such settlement, and for the use of military force according to quotas recommended by the Council. They provide also that disputes not settled by the Council in similar fashion, may be referred to the League of Nations. We have yet to hear, however, of a single case in which this complicated machinery has been called into action, although during the entire existence of the League the world has been once again free from international war. Enthusiasts point, indeed, to such matters as the settlement of the Vilna dispute in 1922 and of the Greco-Bulgarian difficulty in 1926 as signal triumphs of the League of Nations. An examination of the checkered story of Vilna, however, with the contemporary mixture of Memel by the Lithuanians, speaks better for the intentions of the League than for its efficiency.

As to the Greco-Bulgarian achievement, the League advocates sometimes fail to consider that, long before the League was established, during the period from 1878 to 1914, the Concert of Europe was usually able to settle Balkan and other squabbles whenever their settlement was to the advantage of the Great Powers. In the 1920s, for example, the peacefully disposed League of Nations, which was formed after the Algerian affair between France and Germany. The League is as important now as was the Concert of Europe then to prevent wars in which one or more of the Great Powers may be interested. It did nothing to interfere with the Greco-Turkish War, as full of atrocities as the World War itself; it allowed the Moroccan conflict of Spain and France to rage unchecked to a conclusion; and it voiced no protest against the military domination of Haiti and Nicaragua, League members, by the United States, an outside power.

"We point to Locarno," say the League advocates. Yes, the Locarno treaties indeed show how several nations of Europe independently achieved a peace agreement among themselves after the League Pact was for the settlement of disputes had dismally failed.

Exploitation of Mandated Territory

But the Socialist indictment of the present League is not merely negative. The League has accomplished something, and that is to the seal of liberal approval upon industrial imperialism. Before the World War the nations, Germany among them, were frankly scrambling for possession of the undeveloped world. Sanction was given to the victors in the scramble when the League became sponsor for the mandate system, which under the guise of a trust for humanity, handed over the colonies of the conquered nations to swell the empires of the greater military powers. These mandatory Powers are re-

sponsible to the League, to be sure, but to the Council of the League, which each of them has a permanent seat. A few local abuses have been checked, and these accomplishments have been widely heralded. On the other hand, the League has from the outset allowed the Mandatory Powers to exploit these territories for their own benefit through the recruiting of troops and the establishment of monopolies; and it has taken no effective action to prevent such outrages as the slaughter of the people of Syria, who had appealed to the League for protection against their French guardians.

"A Step in the Right Direction"

"We recognize the failings of the League," say its friends, "but it is at least a step in the right direction. Let America enter and use her influence to make an ideal world federation. Here we are checked, however. The 'step' may be in the right direction, but it leads us into a stone wall. Article 26 of the League Covenant expressly provides that no amendment can be valid until ratified by all 'the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council.' That is, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany enjoy a perpetual veto upon any and all reforms in the League. It is easy to imagine a miracle by which these five nations should simultaneously possess governments so altruistic as deliberately to renounce any portion of the world they afforded them by the present Covenant? And until that miracle is imminent, would not American liberals in their espousal of the League, find themselves after the ceremony in somewhat the condition of the woman who married a drunkard in order to reform him? The modern bride is inclined to demand the reform while she still holds her trump card.

International Labor More Effective Than League

A real federation of peoples is impossible while we have imperialism; imperialism will last as long as we have armed governments; and armaments will continue as long as the governments have confidence in the readiness of their people to fly to arms at the drop of the hat. The capitalist imperialism of Great Britain is receiving its first check, not from the League of Nations, but from the solid opposition of the Labor movement. For the first time in history all nations, no matter how small and humble, are offered a public forum to present their claims and voice their grievances before the world. This tends to make their oppression a little more difficult, a little less ruthless.

The League has, moreover, been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

The League has always been somewhat palliated the evils of secret diplomacy and military alliances between antagonistic groups of powers.

What It Can Be Made

But the League of Nations is not so important for what it is as for what it can be made to be. The reactionary founders of the League and many of its radical opponents make the equal mistake of believing that written constitutions determine the character and functions of social organizations for all time to come. They ignore the fundamental truth that social institutions always reflect the existing social forces and change with every change of such forces.

A paper Covenant can no more arrest the march of social progress than a wooden fence can stem the tide of the ocean. The League of Nations is and always will be as good or bad as the powers which control it.

Let me illustrate this thought by a concrete example. When the Covenant of the League was framed, Great Britain was ruled by the government of Lloyd George, whose simple international policy was: "Germany must pay and the Kaiser must be hanged." France was governed by the fire-eating "tiger" Clemenceau. A thick atmosphere of reaction hung over the rest of the world. The signatories to the Covenant wrote into the document as much of their hate, distrust and reac-

tion as they could and dared. MacDonald—The Geneva Protocol-Locarno

During the first five years of the League's existence great political changes occurred in the principal countries of Europe. The Socialist and Labor forces had secured control of some governments and they exerted a considerable influence over others. When the League Assembly met in 1924, England was no longer represented by the imperialist Lloyd George Cabinet but by the labor government of J. Ramsay MacDonald. The irreconcilable French government of Clemenceau had given way to the pacific Radical-Socialist coalition of Herriot. The whole spirit of the League changed immediately with the result that the Assembly by unanimous vote adopted the famous "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," popularly known as the Geneva Protocol.

Substitute for the League

The international Socialist and labor movement cannot be considered as a substitute for the League. This movement operates within each country to check the militaristic and imperialistic policies of the separate capitalist governments. Internationalism has not aggravated the opposition parties, not of ruling governments. It cannot take the place of the League of Nations. It cannot remain indifferent to it. It must mobilize its forces to conquer the League or to destroy it. To my mind one is not more difficult than the other, and conquest is more promising and profitable than destruction.

Bad as the League is, it is not an unmitigated evil. While it is probably true that all the good it has accomplished in the seven years of its existence might or would have been achieved by the great powers without a League, the reverse is equally true: the wrongs perpetrated in international relations during that period could and would have been inflicted on the world in the absence of a League at least as effectively. The League has not aggravated the evil of imperialism even if it has not materially checked it.

A Public Forum

On the other hand the fact that the League Assembly represents, in the words of Conrad Hughes, "an excellent free for all debating society," is to my mind no mean achievement. For the first time in history all nations, no matter how small and humble, are offered a public forum to present their claims and voice their grievances before the world. This tends to make their oppression a little more difficult, a little less ruthless.

The League has, moreover, been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

The League has always been somewhat palliated the evils of secret diplomacy and military alliances between antagonistic groups of powers.

What It Can Be Made

But the League of Nations is not so important for what it is as for what it can be made to be. The reactionary founders of the League and many of its radical opponents make the equal mistake of believing that written constitutions determine the character and functions of social organizations for all time to come. They ignore the fundamental truth that social institutions always reflect the existing social forces and change with every change of such forces.

A paper Covenant can no more arrest the march of social progress than a wooden fence can stem the tide of the ocean. The League of Nations is and always will be as good or bad as the powers which control it.

Let me illustrate this thought by a concrete example. When the Covenant of the League was framed, Great Britain was ruled by the government of Lloyd George, whose simple international policy was: "Germany must pay and the Kaiser must be hanged." France was governed by the fire-eating "tiger" Clemenceau. A thick atmosphere of reaction hung over the rest of the world. The signatories to the Covenant wrote into the document as much of their hate, distrust and reac-

tion as they could and dared.

MacDonald—The Geneva Protocol-Locarno

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This instrument radically revolutionized the League and the League of Nations. It makes arbitration compulsory and in all cases of international disputes and definitely outlawed war as a method of settling such disputes.

The Geneva Protocol never became effective. After twenty years of the League's existence, the British labor government fell and the Tory government of Mr. Baldwin refused to assent to the Protocol.

But the incident has taught us two important lessons. It has shown that even the reactionary British government could not simply reject the Geneva Protocol without offering a constructive substitute for it. That substitute was the Locarno treaty. But the more important lesson of the Geneva Protocol is that the League may become an effective instrument for peace and progress, and I have faith in the political future of Europe.

Socialism Advancing

In practically every advanced country of Europe the forces of Socialism and labor are advancing to power, though not always in general elections. In several leading countries the next few years will be characterized by direct and final struggle between capital and labor for political supremacy.

During the period of the struggle the League of Nations will faithfully record every step of general political progress, and adjust itself to the new world requirements by steady reformation of its constitution, its functions and practical operation. It will not be necessary to wait until every nation of the world will develop a high degree of international solidarity before the League will become an effective and permanent instrument for peace.

When the Socialist workers of Great Britain, France, Germany and several smaller countries will rule the destinies of their respective peoples and Soviet Russia is liberalized and democratized, will join the League of Nations, the peace of the world will be assured.

How Socialists Abroad Regard League

Another important factor that must influence our stand is the international Socialist attitude toward the League of Nations. To our comrades in Europe the League is not a theory or abstraction but a physical presence with a direct and potent influence on their daily lives. They have watched the League at close range since its inception, and have carefully weighed its shortcomings and possibilities and have decided on a policy of positive action.

The International Unity Congress

The International Unity Congress of Hamburg in 1923, unanimously declared: "The League of Nations threatens to become either a thing of no importance at all, or an instrument of reaction and imperialism. It is the duty of the working class to resist

the fatal tendency and to use its power in every country to secure that nations shall be admitted to the League, that its organization shall be made democratic, and that workers of each country shall exercise effective control over the actions of their delegates to the League. In this way it may be so arranged that it will become an effective instrument to secure (a) the international peace, (b) the rights of peace, and (c) the revision of the existing Peace Treaties."

This position was reiterated made more specific at the Manchester Congress in 1925, which adopted the following resolution: "The workers adhering to the S. I. have given their approval to the foundation of the League of Nations, but they declare that it not fully accomplish its task unless it includes all the peoples, admits with equal rights and obligations, and fully recognizes the needs of the peace program above, and unless the international organization is based on a democratic economic foundation."

"The workers therefore demand that the League of Nations be made inclusive and democratic, and that machinery for the revision of the Peace Treaties under Article 19 of the Covenant should be elaborated and made effective."

They demand that side by side with the international labor movement the existing economic organs of the League be transformed into an International Economic Council, and the active participation of trade union and cooperative labor organizations in the League be made a definite principle. To me the fact that our International has taken this definite position is almost conclusive, for while it may be a theoretical question, it is perfectly clear that the Socialist International must maintain a united stand on the most important subjects as a question of practical international tactics.

Socialists in National Parliaments

—Why Not International?

I am besides thoroughly convinced that the position is entirely consistent with the fundamental philosophy and traditional policy of the social democracy.

The question is after all not entirely novel in principle. When the German Socialists elected their representatives to parliament they seriously debated whether their elected deputies should actively participate in the deliberations and work of parliament or boycott it as a hopelessly capitalist body tainted and operated solely in the interests of the possessing classes. About thirty years later, when the Socialists in some countries became so strong as to force the ruling parties to offer them seats in the government the same doubt was raised as to the wisdom of Socialist participation in bourgeois governments, and now when a quasi international government has been formed in the League of Nations, the discussion was raised under a new formula. Is it consistent for Socialists to support and participate in the council of organized international capitalism and imperialism? (France, Belgium and Sweden are represented by Socialists in the League.)

On all these varying phases of the question international social democracy has decided in favor of participation in bourgeois governments and in the League of Nations, and in the League of Nations, the discussion was raised under a new formula. Is it consistent for Socialists to support and participate in the council of organized international capitalism and imperialism? (France, Belgium and Sweden are represented by Socialists in the League.)

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Farmer Would Nationalize Marketing of Farm Produce

Editor's Note

In the issue of the American Appeal of February 5, Benjamin C. Marsh, managing director of the Farmers' National Council, contributed an article showing why the farmer must become a collectivist and work jointly with his fellow farmers, instead of an individualist, if he is to save himself.

Shortly after the appearance of this article James H. Job of Reelsville, Indiana, farmer, presented a plan which would make collectivists of the farmers in the selling end of their business.

About that time the fight on the McNary-Haugen bill grew hot and took up this space in the Appeal and the publication of Mr. Job's article was postponed. We now take pleasure in presenting Mr. Job's plan, which we think is well worth considering. While we have been postponing Mr. Job's article until we could find space for it, a number of other farmers have contributed opinions, which we shall be glad to publish in this space soon.

The agricultural problem has become so acute that it has become imperative that all fighters for the real workers and producers get together and come to an understanding. We shall be pleased to hear from the farmers in the future. Kindly make your observations as brief as possible and to the point. Otherwise, we will be forced to publish only parts of them, but we will not change them in any way when we whittle them down.

—M. E. K.

By James H. Job

(Reelsville, Indiana)

I beg to offer a few thoughts in reply to Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh's article in the issue of Feb. 5th. Mr. Marsh says we farmers must become collectivists. If he means to limit collectivism to the selling end of our business, I am in agreement with him, but he means that we must become collectivists as both producers and sellers, I take issue with him.

Four hundred years ago this country was, for most part, a vast unoccupied wilderness, which had been settled up by individuals, not collectively, but individually. Under the then existing conditions they could not have done otherwise. Every man became the owner of his own tract of land on which he erected his domicile to be occupied by himself and family. What an inspiring thought it is, for a man to realize that he is the owner and sole proprietor of his own farm and home. Life appreciates it, and it proceeds to make it such as he would have it. It was in passive obedience to this noble impulse that has made this country what it is. Conditions then, served to force farmers to choose to become individualists, both as producers and sellers of their products.

In as much as combinations in the form of trusts and corporations on the one hand and combinations of the one hand and trade unions of the workers on the other, has resulted in a price-fixing regime on their part, farmers now find themselves forced to follow their example by ceasing to be individualists at the selling end of their business. It is neither practicable nor desirable that we become

collectivists as producers. In the very nature of the case that part of it is a very long way off. But that does not forbid that we should combine the selling end of our business, for we are now able to produce an abundance of the necessities of life for all.

And today, we are the only class of workers and producers who are blindly competing against each other, both in the field of production and world markets. We all know that competition is war, and in this war we are killing each other off by the thousands. With 12 cent cotton, 50 cent corn and \$1.20 wheat, we are losing our farms. Right now the farmers of my county (Putnam) are paying interest on \$1,250,000 Federal farm loans, besides all other loans.

Mr. Marsh says the farmer's problem is an international problem. Under present chaotic conditions he is correct. But with a protective tariff to back it up until all other nations of the world adopt a similar measure, I would adopt the following plan which would serve to make us collectivists at the selling end of our business.

It is as follows.—We must have a great national sales corporation which would automatically and simultaneously embrace all the cotton, corn, wheat, rice and such other farm products as necessity might require, that may be offered for sale, and sell for actual consumption only as a fixed minimum price, based on cost of production. If at the end of the year a surplus of any given commodity should appear, let the group that produced it, in due proportion, bear the burden of carrying over such surplus.

Just to illustrate: If John Smith and I are both cotton and corn growers and John Smith has 1000 bushels of corn and 100 bales of cotton for sale—and I have 500 bushels of corn and 50 bales of cotton—and if at the end of the year 20 per cent of both crops should remain unsold, John Smith would be required to bear the burden of carrying over 20 bales of cotton and 200 bushels of corn.

Nothing is more certain than such a regime would serve to regulate production—for at fair prices, we all would be stimulated to produce enough and at the same time, we all would be like to produce less, reducing the acreage of any given crop whenever we had a large surplus of such crop. We don't like burdens. It does seem to me that that should suffice to answer Mr. Marsh's objections to a price fixing measure on the ground that it would result in a great over-production.

I dare say, that everything in nature is automatically regulated. The heavens above are automatically regulated. Every sane mind is so regulated, for, if our minds should cease to automatically shift from one subject to another, we would lose our mental balance and become insane. Give us public ownership of the soil, let us live under such a regime and we would then have as much of Socialism as I care about at this time. We could move onward as necessity might require.

Getting Along in the World

The Boss: "You've been with us a long time, Smith, and we appreciate your service, and as a slight token of our appreciation we have issued an order to the entire staff that hereafter you are to be addressed as Mr. Smith."

—From The Peoples Gas Gazette, Published by The Peoples Gas Light Co., Chicago.

Workers' Share of Product Shrinks Steadily Since 1909

By Leland Olds

Are you getting your share of the unexampled prosperity which in 1928 boosted the national income to the record total of \$38,823,000,000? In the national income report of the national bureau of economic research, W. I. King, a leading authority, offers figures showing not only the yearly totals since 1909 but also the average national income per person gainfully employed throughout the country.

The \$38,823,000,000 produced by the country in 1928 would mean \$2010 per person if distributed equally among the 44,600,000 individual gainfully employed in that year. In 1914 the national income distributed on this basis would have yielded \$836 and in 1909 \$791.

King gives the income per person gainfully employed in dollars and also in 1913 dollars as shown in the following table. The column expressed in 1913 dollars shows the average purchasing power of the country for each year.

National Income	Current	1913
per person	Current	dollars
gainfully employed	dollars	dollars
1909	\$791	\$825
1910	809	825
1911	812	821
1912	844	820
1913	854	824
1914	836	824
1915	861	843
1916	1,232	819
1917	1,232	847
1918	1,386	879
1919	1,569	934
1920	1,551	907
1921	1,537	887
1922	1,556	879
1923	1,821	1,113

1924 1,840 1,121
1925 1,871 1,165
1926 2,010 1,186

This table means that the national income in 1928 was large enough to afford every wage earner in the country a 1926 wage 140 percent larger than he received for the same class of work in 1914. Any male earner with less than this gain is the victim of the unequal division of prosperity.

In dollars and cents, the average factory worker made out in 1928 as compared with his share of the national income in 1914? According to the national (employer) industrial conference board the average

factory wage in 1914 was \$12.00 a week. If the average factory wage in 1928 had maintained the standard, relative to the national income, it would have been \$18.00 a week. In 1914, his 1926 wage would have averaged \$20.18 a week. The conference board shows that his wage averaged only \$21.17. Factory workers thus averaged about \$3 a day, \$156 for the year, less than the 1914 proportion.

In spite of all talk about the increased purchasing power of the lion's share of prosperity going to the owners of stocks and bonds.

California Keeps Syndicalism Law

SACRAMENTO—The campaign of the California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union for the amendment of the California criminal syndicalism law has met with defeat. The senate judiciary committee has refused by unanimous vote to report the Feltom amendment to the floor. It has been tabled.

This action followed a hearing on March 1 during which representatives of the American Civil Liberties clash with the union. Company executives, state constabulary make organization of West Virginia miners cult and often dangerous. No every means of communication with the miners is controlled by the bosses and barred to union men.

Ohio Miners Plan Big Radio Station

BELLARE, O.—Erection of radio station on the miners' tent in Bellare to broadcast the message to nonunion miners in West Virginia was approved in a resolution adopted at the convention of district 5, dist. 6, United Mine Workers.

Subdistrict 5 is the largest in the state and includes the panhandle of West Virginia, where the operators broken with the union. Company men, injunctions, yellow dog contracts and state constabulary make organization of West Virginia miners cult and often dangerous. No every means of communication with the miners is controlled by the bosses and barred to union men.

Get at least one sub, or pay for some one else's sub between March 19 and April 19—that is the program for all Appeal readers. Will you do your part?